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# BURUÇASKĪ, A LANGUAGE OF NORTHERN KASHMIR

PHILIP LEMONT BARBOUR

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

FAR IN THE GREAT NORTHWEST of India, lying close to the borders of Turkistān, is the valley of the Hunza River. Along its northern banks lives a tribe of people who, tho formerly war-like and aggressive, are now industrious and peaceable. On the south side are men of a different sort: quieter, and more orthodox Muhammadans. Yet these two tribes speak very slightly differing dialects of the same tongue. This language, called Buruçaskī by the best authorities, is, like most primitive tongues, possessed of qualities which are very strange to the peoples of the Western World. Indeed, Buruçaskī has one phenomenon which I have been unable to find in any one of some 250 languages and dialects which I have investigated.

The object of this article is to give a brief summary of the main peculiarities of the tongue, and to discuss its possible linguistic relationships and offer some possible explanation of its origin. Later on I hope to be able to offer a scientific grammar.

Buruçaskī possesses two main distinctive features. The most important of these to my mind is the so-called system of pronominalization. And in the second place there is the use of the vigesimal system. Several others might be mentioned, but these seem to me the most important ones. It is these elements, then, that we must look for in other tongues in order to classify the language. This problem has been investigated by Grierson, Leitner, and others, but the verdict so far has been 'unclassifiable'. I say this with the reservation of a statement by Prof. Trombetti which I will discuss later.

Let us now look into this matter and see whether we shall again justify the opinion of Grierson or, failing to do that, offer some constructive criticism of our own.

As I have said before, the 'pronominalized' quality of Buruçaskī is the most striking one. It consists in the prefixing of a particle derived from the personal pronouns, and pronominal in effect, to certain nouns, adjectives, prepositions, and verbs. The principle underlying these several cases is fundamentally the same. (In fact, the actual form varies but slightly, as we shall see.) Dr.

Leitner, the original discoverer of Buruçaskī to the western races of the earth, explains the pronominalization as follows: to the primitive mind the idea of 'head', for instance, is so closely associated with the idea of its possessor that the two can not be separated. Accordingly we find the mental concept reflected in the speech. There is no word for 'head' in the abstract; it is necessary to say *whose* head, either its present owner, or, if separated from the body, its past possessor. Thus we have words for 'my head', 'thy head', 'his head', and so forth, all quite distinct from one another, yet all founded upon the same root by means of prefixes. Nevertheless we do not find this root as a separate entity. It is invariably accompanied by one of the prefixes.

The pronominalization, to continue our abstract from Dr. Leitner, is therefore confined to words of family relationship, parts of the body, and mental conceptions—all of them expressing qualities, be they physical or mental, which can not be separated from their owner. They may be, as remarked above, expressed in a noun, a verb (usually, if not invariably, a compound with one of the pronominalized nouns as a component), an adjective (always a compound), or a preposition (these are very few and no regular rule is deduced). In the case of the verbs, the suffixes for the personal endings may also be derived from the same personal-pronominal roots. Thus in the pronominalized verbs we have the prefix and the suffix both. Such is Dr. Leitner's opinion on the matter.

Important as is the explanation and theory of so distinguished a scholar as Leitner, there seem to me to be some reasons for modifying it. There are, however, few 'first opinions' which survive the erosive effect of time. Facts discovered later contradict even the most logical theories.

Now as regards the Buruçaskī system of pronominalization, which by its very nature causes a lack of certain abstract terms in the language, it is well to observe that, while there are cases of primitive tongues having different words for objects expressed in more advanced languages by a compound formed of a general word plus a specific modifier, these cases do not parallel ours. In them it is a question of an entire lack of abstract terms. In Buruçaskī, on the other hand, altho there is no word for 'head', there is a *root* expressing that idea. Tho various personal prefixes are attached, that does not hide the significance of the existence

of the root idea in the language. To evidence the distinction I am making, I will quote several cases from other tongues. Dr. Romanes<sup>1</sup> cites the following examples: the Society Islanders have different words for 'dog's tail', 'bird's tail', etc., but no word for 'tail'. The Mohicans have different words for various kinds of cutting, but no verb 'to cut'. They can say 'I love you', or 'I love him', and so forth, but they have no way of expressing the simple idea 'to love'. The Choctaws have no word for the genus 'oak'. The Australians have no expression for 'tree' in the abstract, nor for 'bird', or 'fish', etc. The Eskimos can say they are fishing seal, or whale, and the like, but they can not invite anyone to go fishing with them without specifying what, where, when, or how they are going to fish.

I need quote no more of these cases to prove that, with the sole exception of the Mohican verb forms, there is no real resemblance between any of these and Buruḡaskī. In all of them the root too is absent. Not so, however, in the language we are studying, While the Kanjuti's (or Buruḡaskī-speaking man's) mind may not now be able to separate the idea of a part of the body, or what not, from the idea of its owner, his mind must at some time have had the power to conceive the root word to which he has attached his pronominal prefix—and there Dr. Leitner's theory seems inadequate.

Far more likely does it appear to me that the root word once existed and that the constant use of these now pronominalized words with the possessive pronouns led to the unifying of the two parts into one word. Subsequently, probably owing to a contraction, the significance of the possessive prefix was lost, to a certain extent, and the second half of the compound, the general term, lost its individual entity. Then the possessive pronoun was again added, and we find them now saying 'my my head', for instance. It is a similar case to that of the Southerner, who, as the story goes, had heard 'dam-Yankee' used together so much that he reached the age of discretion, so-called, without knowing that the phrase was not a word. I might also cite the use in modern English of 'the hoi polloi' as another example of how easily two words often used together become as one, frequently resulting in the addition of a superfluous particle before them.

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<sup>1</sup> Geo. J. Romanes, *Mental Evolution in Man*, New York City, 1898, pp. 350-353.

Some day future nations may be saying that we lacked the mental acumen necessary to understand the original Greek. We too may be classed with the primitive savage.

To return to the subject, my analysis of the pronominalization is further borne out by the fact that the Kanjutis, according to Dr. Leitner, have been a free race, living in the same locality, and governed by the same line of kings, or chiefs, for about a thousand years. Their isolation has been almost complete for a millenium and a half. This is time enough for a language to decay as well as to advance, and their separation from the outside world would probably have not made for linguistic development. Certainly this isolation would have dulled their intelligence rather than sharpened it. Moreover it is generally acknowledged that the people speaking Buruçaskī are an intelligent race, far above the Society Islanders, for instance. Thus the only logical conclusion seems to me to be that the primitive qualities of the language are due to decay. This alone, to my mind, can explain such qualities in a tongue whose speakers, according to all indications, are a very old race.

Turning now to the other main peculiarity referred to above, it will repay us, I believe, to look into this matter of the *vigesimal system*. We may be able to discover some analogies that will be of assistance in classifying, or otherwise theorising about, Buruçaskī. In the first place we are reminded of the peculiar French usage in the instance of 70, 80, and 90. Instead of continuing the decimal system, French suddenly branches out into the *vigesimal*, e. g., 70, *soixante-dix*; 80, *quatre-vingt*; 90, *quatre-vingt-dix*. This is a survival of a former complete *vigesimal* system. Thus we find in early French *treiz vinz*, 'sixty', *treiz vinz et dix*, 'seventy', etc.<sup>2</sup> It is even continued beyond one hundred, so that we find *six vinz*, 'one hundred and twenty'. In the Keltic languages, also, we find this system,<sup>3</sup> and it is generally agreed that it was thru the contact with the Keltic that Old French developed this un-Romance quality. But, if this system is foreign to the Latin tongues, is it not also foreign to the Indo-European in general? The answer is decidedly affirmative. Whence, then, did the Kelts

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<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Diez, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1882, pp. 725-726.

<sup>3</sup> Holger Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1913, p. 134.

derive their mode of counting? I will not stop here to go into any detail, but will merely outline a theory that presents itself to my mind. The Kelts may also have inherited the system from still earlier possessors of French soil. These tribes have now all died out, save the Basques who, I believe, are connected with the early (tho not the earliest<sup>4</sup>) inhabitants of Europe. (That the Basques should have invaded Europe later than the Kelts seems to me highly improbable.) Their language still uses the vigesimal system, and that is the only common ground it has to stand on with any language that exists or is known to have existed near the present abode of the Basques.<sup>4</sup>

This is all rather far afield, yet I do not regard it as time wasted, for it illustrates the importance of the numerical system in unravelling linguistic mysteries. Besides this, I regard the numerical system as of considerable importance in the classification of a tongue. Altho Prof. Trombetti,<sup>5</sup> among others, cites the widespread use of the vigesimal system, still I should be very much inclined to investigate carefully any tongue that was within the limit of possibility geographically, and that made use of that system. The mere fact that the vigesimal system is widespread is no proof that two languages using it are *not* connected. More extensive notice of this will be taken later on.

After these all too few remarks regarding the two distinctive features of Buruḡaskī I will now turn to the discussion of the linguistic affinity of the tongue and see what can be said regarding its classification. Should no classification be possible as yet, I will at least offer some suggestions as regards its more distant relationships; and at the same time see what can be said about its origin.

It is evident from the most superficial survey that Buruḡaskī is not an Indo-European tongue. Authors (such as Sir Aurel Stein in his *Ancient Khotan* and in other works) who have had nothing else to say in regard to it have remarked that the language could not be Aryan. And they mean Aryan in the broadest sense of Indo-European. There is not the slightest resemblance in vocabulary, syntax, or any other way.

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<sup>4</sup> Wm. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, New York, 1898, p. 200. See also page 198 for further information regarding the migrations of the race.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Alfredo Trombetti, *Saggi di Glottologia Generale Comparata*, 1913, vol. 2, p. 9.

After ruling out this possibility we may next turn to another great group of tongues that is a near neighbor, namely the Tibeto-Burman group. Of this group the language geographically nearest to the Hunza is Baltî. A somewhat careful comparative study of Baltî and our language reveals not the slightest resemblance. Nor, in fact, can any similarity be traced in the entire Tibeto-Burman stock-in-trade. Here again we are compelled to agree with Grierson and the others. Yet there is one branch of the Tibeto-Burman group, known as the Himalayan pronominalized branch, that has many features quite opposed to the general run of things in its parent. Indeed it was for a time doubtful how to classify these pronominalized languages. They are found in little bunches scattered thru the southern slopes of the Himalayas, reaching as far west as Ladakshān. The dialects spoken there have the greatest number of foreign elements of any of the Tibetan tongues. Yet, strange as it may seem, these idiosyncracies apparently border upon a relationship to Buruçaskî. I will not discuss the resemblances at any length, but will merely remark that these likenesses, far fetched as they seem, are among the few that offer even a slight ray of hope to the comparative philologist in search of a classification for Buruçaskî. The main point is that the western Himalayan pronominalized languages also use the vigesimal system. Their pronominalization is somewhat different from that in the Buruçaskî, however. In the Himalayan tongues a pronominal *suffix* is used on verbs to form a primitive yet regular system of conjugation. Here we find a support for Whitney's theory regarding the origin of verbal endings. The occurrence of the vigesimal system in these languages I regard as important, however, as it is in direct opposition to some of the main principles of the Tibeto-Burman languages. More will be said of this later when I am discussing the Muṇḍā or Kolarian languages.

Turning now to the North, we find the Tartar, Tūrķî, Uigur, and other dialects and languages. Here again we must be disappointed, as regards finding relationships, for these tongues are utterly devoid of the pronominal system, or of vigesimalization, and have so few resemblances in vocabulary that they must be borrowed words. The only word, in fact, that I have so far discovered in common is the Tūrķî *timur* or *temur*, 'iron', which is also found in Buruçaskî in the form *cimr*, *comar*, and with various other spellings. It is undoubtedly a borrowed word,

however, because it is also found in the Indo-Iranian or Piçāca dialects of Afghanistan and the Northwest Frontier Province.

Now we must go farther afield. The other languages of India offer themselves for inspection, and accordingly we turn to the Dravidian group. This is, with the sole exception of Brahūi, limited to the southern part of India. Philologists and ethnologists almost universally agree that the Dravidians came into India from the same direction as did the Aryans, leaving a colony in Baluchistān, which today speaks a Dravidian tongue, Brahūi.<sup>6</sup> Might not they have left another such island in northern Kashmir? Alas, Brahūi presents striking similarities to the other Dravidian languages, but Buruṣaskī has practically no resemblance at all. It would make a wonderful story if the Buruṣaskī-speaking Kanjutis were a sort of little pond left by the onswEEPing tidal-wave of the great Dravidian racial migration. This would be a source of splendid fiction, but I fear the novelist will have to seek elsewhere for his story.

A page or so above I mentioned, in connection with the Himalayan pronominalized languages, the Muṇḍā or Kolarian group of tongues. It is to this group that we must now direct our glance. Separated as this group is by a dozen degrees of latitude, it does not seem to offer much promise as a related class. Yet here again we find the vigesimal system of counting. We also find a well-developed declension and conjugation, bordering more in type upon the Buruṣaskī. And, more than this, there seems to be a very slight connection in the vocabulary. From this, however, we must be careful in drawing our conclusions. The present-day knowledge of the morphology and etymology of Buruṣaskī is too meagre to be sure that we are not mistaking an ending for an essential part of the word. Still I am including a list of the very few resemblances I have been able to trace: Bur. *tsil*, 'water', Himalayan pron. langs. *ti* (which Grierson thinks is related to Sāntālī *dak* and to Bahnar *dak* of the Mōn Khmēr languages); Bur. *haghur*, 'horse', Kanaśī (Him. pron. lang.) *ghora*, Janggali *ghor̥ya*; Bur. (*i*)*mupaç* 'nose', Sāntālī *mū*, Bahnar *mu*; Bur. *sah* 'sun', Sāntālī *siñ*, Selong (Mōn Khmēr lang.) *señ*; Bur. *api*,

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<sup>6</sup> On the general relationship of Brahūi to the Dravidian tongues see D. Bray, *The Brahūi Language*, Part 1, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 8-19.

<sup>7</sup> I might add that, besides being pronominalized, which I have indicated by parentheses, *paç* seems to me an ending, cf. (*i*)*mukaç* 'cheek'.



'not', (apparently from or connected with *bē* 'no'), Santālī *ban*, Rengao *bi*; Bur. *hir*<sup>8</sup> 'man', Santālī *hār*. These are about the only words out of some two hundred compared that show the slightest resemblance, and the similarity is very, very slight in many if not all of these cases. Yet it is necessary to remember that a great interval of space intervenes and the languages might have so drifted apart that only very slight resemblances should be traceable.

The Mōn Khmēr languages in eastern India and Burma seem to have a basic resemblance to the Muṇḍā, but beyond that and the few verbal analogies presented in the preceding paragraph they offer little similarity. They are monosyllabic, and show some connection with the Chino-Siamo-Tibeto-Burman group on the one hand and the Australo-Indonesian on the other. Slight as are these resemblances, it seems most important that various scholars of world-wide repute accept this fundamental affinity referred to above, and equally able ones have not been able to refute the theory entirely. The Chinese-Siamese group can be dispensed with summarily as it is related to the Tibeto-Burman and is like it in most matters of principle.

As regards the classification of *Buruçaskī*, this seems to leave us just where we started. Yet there are a few more theories and possibilities remaining. An article entitled *The Khajuna Language* by Hyde Clarke in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1. 258, Bombay 1872, suggests a possible connection with the Agaws, Waags, Falashas, Fertits, Dizzelas, and Shankalis of Abyssinia, also the Abxās, in Caucasia, the Roḍiyas, of Ceylon, and the Galelas, of the Indian Archipelago. He also instances 'a Siberian and two American Indian' tongues as possible relatives. He then assumes an autochthonous population of India speaking the parent of this group, presumably driven out by the first comers of the present Indian tongues. Not even a name is lacking: the Siberio-Nubian group. As the name of the Siberian tongue was not given, I was not able to identify the language he had reference to, tho I investigated the Yukaghir and Siberian Eskimo modes of speech with no results. What I could glean from a careful study of the material relating to the Abxās language in R. von Erckert's *Die Sprache des Kaukasischen Stammes*, Wien 1895, failed to convince me of the possibility of any valuable results being obtained there.

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Lat. *vir*, Skt. *vīra*.

An investigation of the African languages referred to by Mr. Clarke also failed to throw any light on the subject. What relation there is between these languages and *Buruçaski* would certainly only be evident to one who could speak all of these languages as a native. Perhaps even he could not trace any connection.

I need go no farther to demonstrate the difficulties of applying this grouping to *Buruçaski*. Search as I might, moreover, from the Basque of Western Europe to the *Ra-txa-hu-ni-ku-i*<sup>9</sup> of the *Caxinauás* of Brazil, from Ojibway to Finnish, I could discover no tongue having the two particularly distinctive features that I mentioned at the outset. Whatever tongue is connected with *Buruçaski* has apparently lost, in the course of time, these valuable identification marks. To me the closest resemblance seemed to lie in the *Munḍā* languages. That is too remote a resemblance, however, to presume any 'blood tie'.

Since the writing of this article I have received a letter from Sir George Grierson in which he referred to a possible connection with Mongolian and Manchu. I had investigated this to some slight extent. The possibility seemed too doubtful to bother to make mention of it. I was pleased to hear that he too had felt it was 'doubtful'. The investigation of the enormous number of languages which might show some small resemblance to *Buruçaski* is necessarily a rather superficial one. The two languages mentioned above have been somewhat neglected in this article for that very reason. The letter from Grierson has thus only confirmed the opinion I had received from my own altogether too summary investigations in that line.

Hence we must again come to the same conclusion which Grierson and other authorities have arrived at. There is apparently no language on the face of the earth which is sufficiently closely connected with *Buruçaski* to admit of the latter's being classified with it. Such a classification to my mind would require a considerable amount of similarity in fundamental principles, as well as a reasonably large coincidence or resemblance in vocabulary. In other words, it must be possible to draw some philological or morphological laws from these principles for them to be of any real value for grouping. From the preceding paragraphs this is evidently not possible. If, then, clutching as a drowning man at

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<sup>9</sup> Abreu, J. C. de, *Ra-txa-hu-ni-ku-i*, Rio de Janeiro, 1914.

anything, we even enlarge our definition to such an extent as almost to include Nahuatl in the same group as Sanskrit, we shall be but little better off. It may be the lack of material on Buruçaskī that causes this difficulty, however, and it is quite possible that, when new data are acquired, a definite connection may be established. I have, in spite of this, decided to append an outline of a theory which may seem to be a classification of the language. This it most definitely is not. I do not feel that the suppositions entertained in it are a basis for a classification. They are merely attempts to explain the few resemblances and coincidences which I have stated above.

Now in conclusion I have a rather novel and romantic (tho I hope not impossible) theory of my own to propose. It is an attempt to account for the presence of Buruçaskī in its present location. If nothing more than the suggestion of a theory more probable than any previous one is accomplished, I shall be content. So I offer it, not without some hesitation, for what it may be worth.

India, by virtue of the fertility of its soil and the equable climate in many of its parts, is the most natural place in the world to expect to find prehistoric remains. The country includes, of course, all varieties of climate and altitude, but in some regions offers unequalled advantages for the development of early man. Almost without doubt, moreover, these qualities always obtained in much the same places as today. We know, by geological evidence, that the Archean or earliest known rock formations are to be found under and at the surface of a large part of India. Hence, taking into consideration its tropical to semitropical location, we may expect to discover burial sites and other evidences of paleolithic man. In this we are not deceived. Such remains are found in the Madras district, for instance.<sup>10</sup> From these earliest traces we have an almost complete scale of remains down thru the neolithic age, etc., to historical times. We therefore know that, long before the historic and protohistoric invasions, man was in India.

The subsequent history of these primitive human beings is not definitely known. It is certain, however, that there were two main groups of them. By far the larger portion was in the Deccan. Smaller communities existed, possibly not so early, in the older

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<sup>10</sup> Smith, V. A. *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1919, pp. 1-10.

regions of the North. Altho there is no positive proof (indeed compared to Europe there is little proof of such things in India at all), man has probably existed in Kashmir since a very early date. His development there would be more or less like that of man in the South. There would probably, however, have been little mutual influence. The Northern race also was probably fairer, tho not much so, than the Southern.

Resigning ourselves now entirely to theory, it is to be expected that the Gangetic basin would later have become the meeting ground of these races. The Southern type possibly even spread to the Eastern reaches of the Indus. This meeting of the tribes would tend to stimulate progress in both of them and might very likely give rise to a third race. This birth I have assumed as taking place. The race may not necessarily have been separated ethnically from the parent, but may, at the time of the earliest immigrations of foreigners, have merely been a race in the embryo. A linguistic differentiation would have taken place at an early date. This would have been the case particularly if the earliest invasions were taking place at the time of which I am speaking. The presence of another tongue is productive of great changes in a language, even in a comparatively few years: witness the growth of English in the years immediately following the Norman conquest.

From this we obtain the first premise for our theory, namely, that not long before the Dravidian and Aryan invasions of India there existed in Northern India a race possessing a sharply defined language of its own.

At a later date came the parents of the modern Dravidian tongues. There is little doubt that the Dravidians were exogenous. Where did they come from? That they entered from the North-east is highly dubious. Even more so is the theory that they came from the so-called Lemurian continent, which is fabled to have existed in the Indian Ocean to the southwest of India. The only remaining theory is the one that they came from the North-west. Assuming this to be the most logical theory, the Dravidian people and their language must have come in contact with the aforesaid hypothetical race of Northern India. From this temporary nexus there would have resulted some linguistic intermingling. A more important result was forthcoming, however. The people already in the region were pushed apart. The larger portion turned southward while some tribes turned to the North and then,

when they reached the Himalayas, to the West. While in this region they met with the tribes of Tibetan origin and brought about the linguistic change discernible in their languages today. In the meantime the branch that went to the South and later to the East became the fathers or at least the uncles of the modern Muṇḍā tongues. These, however, have undergone great change through their contact with the Mōn Khmēr and other languages of the East.

The forerunners of the Aryan invasions later drove the Northern branch of my hypothetical people up to the North of where the Aryans entered. The main body of Indo-European tribes thus did not come into direct contact with them. The indigenous tribes of the North, however, did come into contact with these more advanced peoples. Thus we have the opposing influences of the Northern and Southern paleolithic tribes on this split race. As the natural result of this, the division soon grew to appalling dimensions. If this theory is anywhere near the truth, it is more surprising to me that there are now any resemblances at all between the modern descendants of those peoples, than that those resemblances are so few.

Our second premise, then, is that this Northern India race was split by successive invasions and gradually drifted apart until one section was finally in the far Northwest and the other in the extreme Southeast.

With the passing of centuries one stream of people after another poured over the Northwest passes until the Northern branch of the race for the greater part lost its individual entity and assimilated the languages of the invaders. A few remnants, however, of the ancient people,<sup>11</sup> entering valleys impenetrable to the armies of olden times, continued their now isolated existence down to the present day. The final separation of the race probably dates from about the 5th century after Christ. This is the approximate date set for the beginning of the independence of the Hunza and Nagar tribes by Dr. Leitner in his *Hunza and Nagar Handbook*. The millenium and a half of division from the other related tribes located in the upper courses of the Yassin

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<sup>11</sup> Sir. G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 8, part 2, p. 551, which I have received since the paragraph referred to was written, also speaks of the fact that the Buruçaskī-speaking peoples of today are remnants of a former larger race.

River has had but little effect on the language of the two sections. Only complete or nearly complete isolation could have produced such results.

So, as the conclusion and completion of our theory, we may assume that the modern *Buruçaskî* and *Wurçkî* or *Warçikwâr* languages or dialects are the most direct and least-changed descendants of the prehistoric and even pretraditional tribe whose existence was assumed in the first of these statements.

In concluding let me call special attention to two arguments in support of this rather elaborate theory, which may not have been brought out with sufficient clearness above.

In the first place we have the unaccountable resemblance of the Himalayan pronominalized dialects to the *Muṇḍā* group. *Muṇḍā* traditions point to a migration of that race from the North and West, but these traditions are, for the most part, comparatively recent. Hence they would offer but little support to a theory of the *Muṇḍā* peoples coming from beyond the mountains. Moreover, these tribes are typically aboriginal, or endogenous. They are more similar to the autochthonous tribes of the interior of the Deccan than to any of the Northern invaders. Yet they are far more developed than the traces of aborigines found at the present day in that region.

In the second place, the connection of the *Muṇḍā* tribes with the *Mōn Khmēr* and other tribes of the East, in a linguistic way, must somehow be accounted for. This will illustrate the difficulty of accounting for this very complex state of affairs in the compass of one brief article. The other arguments have been mentioned at sufficiently great length in the preceding paragraphs not to necessitate their repeating.

From this it will be seen that some such theory as the one outlined above is required to account for the numerous problems that arise in connection with the presence of *Buruçaskî* and several other languages in their present locality, as well as the peculiar common linguistic substratum of India. As I have said before, my best reward will be the awakening of interest in this problem, which I regard as of considerable importance in settling many linguistic 'mix-ups'. With this I take my leave of a labor that has been the most fascinating I have ever undertaken.